

36 TEPOZTLAN, A MEXICAN VILLAGE

252 in stone and clay. Only a small part of cookery in
[354] Tepoztlán is done on the brazier.

Most of the other articles which contribute to culinary technique are Indian, not European. The
[412] small andesite mortar (S. *molcajete*; N. *molcaxitl*) and the pestle (S. *tejolote*; N. *texolotl*) are used chiefly for grinding *chile*. Two of the three common forms of
285 basket are likewise pre-Columbian in general character. These are the forms without handles: the *chiquihuite* (N. *xiquihuitl*), which is stiff, as wide as it is deep, and coiled on splints; and the *tompíate* (N. *tompíatl*), which is flexible, twice as deep as it is wide, and woven of soft reed. The other basket, which is of the shape of an ordinary European market basket, with a handle, has no Nahuatl name (it is always called *canasta*), and is apparently a form introduced
[177] by the Spaniards. Its principal use is in marketing; therefore it is carried only by women, and on the left
[482] arm under the *rebozo*. The whole forms a *canasta-rebozo* minor complex of post-Columbian development.
[562] The other two baskets are used for the storage and
[251] transport of food (the *chiquihuite* is also used to strain
[252] honey), and may be carried by either man or woman.
177 Mexican pottery has been much modified since the
323 Conquest. Many forms are European, and the ware is in general inferior. Shell-decorated Cuernavaca pottery is common in Tepoztlán, and there are occasional pieces of glazed and painted Oaxaca ware. The ware in general use in cookery is the plain ware of Toluca.
[415] The pot (S. *olla*; N. *xoctli*) preserves the ancient form;

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177 (S. *candil*), the candle, and the alcohol tin (S. *bote*) in
 [354] which water is carried and stored. Two of these tins
 [415] are yoked together and swung over the shoulder. In
 [482] this device (S. *aguantador*), of course European in
 [562] character, water is hauled by the men. A woman carries only a single tin.

778 A domestic shrine is found in most houses. This may
 352 be no more than a printed or painted picture of a
 saint, but more commonly it is a carved and painted
 wooden figure, usually a Virgin or a Christ. This may
 be only a few inches high, or as much as six feet. Most
 are from early Colonial times. In front of this figure
 782 an incense burner (S. *sahumeria*; N. *popochcomitl*) is
 778 placed. This is of black glazed pottery. In it copal
 352 gum is burned. Flowers are also placed before the figure,
 in bottles or vases, and pictures of other saints
 are hung near the image. This shrine is the center of
 domestic worship and ritual. Candles are burned before
 it on feast days; here the infant Christ is "put to
 bed" on Christmas Eve and taken up on Candlemas;
 before this image are placed gifts brought on birth-
 [527] days or those brought by a boy's parents during the
 [584] negotiations leading to a marriage with a daughter of
 the house.

353 Any property not in use is kept on plain wooden
 shelves or in covered wooden chests. Extra clothing is
 hung on nails. Walls are frequently decorated with
 pictures cut from newspapers, with sentimental picture
 postcards, and with little clay toys and ornamental
 dishes brought from other villages.

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Nevertheless a very large part of transport takes place on human backs with the aid of aboriginal devices. Burdens are supported with the aid of the forehead tump-line (S. *mecapal*; N. *mecapalli*), which is sometimes assisted by another line across the chest. Articles are carried either in the *chiquihuite*, which is then bound to the *mecapal* by means of the *ayate* (N. *ayatl*);¹ a tough, coarse-woven cloth of maguey fiber, or else in the *huacal* (N. *huacalli*), a crate of rough-hewn sticks. Water is carried in a hollow gourd (S. *bule*; N. *atecomatl*), supported by a lacing of leather thongs. Women, as has already been said, carry purchases or small belongings in the *canasta*, or occasionally in a long rectangular fiber bag (S. *bolsa*). Men never carry these, but use for the *machete* or other possessions a small flat, square bag of vegetable fiber, the *morral* (S.).

Of musical instruments, recognized by the Tepoztecan as such, all are European: guitar, flute, saxophone, cornet, etc. Ritual music is sharply distinguished and ordinarily not called music. Of instruments employed for this purpose the horizontal wooden double-slotted drum (*teponaztli*) is entirely pre-Columbian. One of the two *teponaztlis* remaining in Tepoztlán has every appearance of being an actual pre-Columbian artifact. The *huehuettl*, the vertical drum with the skin head, which in Mexico is a commoner survival than the *teponaztli*, does not occur in

¹ On the use of the *ayate* among the Otomi see Starr, *Notes on the Ethnography of Southern Mexico*, p. 8.

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Fig. 23. Tepoztecan, returning home from work.

is practiced by necessity, for the fields cease to produce after the first few years; in plow culture, the same fields may be planted year after year until the soil is completely exhausted.

Tlacolol is essentially geared to production for subsistence, while plow culture is better geared to production for the market. It is significant that most families who work *tlacolol* are landless and that *tlacolol* has traditionally been viewed as the last resort of the poor. However, farmers who own small plots of land may also work some *tlacolol* to supplement their meager income. Indeed, in the past few years a new trend is occurring in the village because of inflation. Tepoztecan who own considerable private land now rent it out or let it rest, and themselves work in *tlacolol*. This is resented by most *tlacololeros*, who believe that the communal lands should serve the landless. The attitude of the *tlacololeros* is better understood in the light of the fact that the communal lands are becoming exhausted and can no longer support the present-day population.

Other differences between *tlacolol* and plow culture include the cycles of work, the tools, the type of corn, the work techniques, and even the terminology. Gen-

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Fig. 57. Going to school frees many girls from heavy chores.

confinement, and generally do not resist staying home from school to work. From the third grade on, many of them often play truant (*pintar venado*) to go swimming, to play games, or to go to a nearby town. Most boys look forward to the time when they will withdraw from school permanently to become farmers.

857 Most Tepoztecan mothers are accustomed to putting children to work as soon
872 as they are physically able, and to keep them at home, available to do tasks as
they arise. The amount of work to be done at home by boys and girls of school age
varies from family to family, and frequently depends upon the degree of control
the mother has over her children. Parents traditionally punish young recalcitrants
severely, so that by the time they are ready to assume regular tasks there is no
question of obedience. Play has always been, and still is, viewed by most parents
as a possible source of danger and a waste of time. Attendance at school has caused
parents to modify their view of children as a source of labor and has disrupted
[594] the traditional division of labor within the home. It has thrown a heavier burden of
work on the mother, who depended upon her children for assistance, and on the
father, who now must do some of the minor chores traditionally done by boys.

School has not only helped to reduce the amount of daily work done by children,
but has postponed for many the age at which they work to contribute to their own
support. Going to school has taken children out of the limited sphere of parental
influence and has awakened new desires. One immediate and obvious effect of
school has been the great increase in the desire of children to meet friends and to
play after school. They are no longer always content to return home and remain

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Fig. 63. Widows carrying firewood.

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generations because of recent social and economic changes. Also, the facts that old people do not usually take an active part in community life, that a large number of the aged are poverty stricken, and that their speech, dress, and manners are now viewed as old-fashioned has somewhat diminished their respect status. Despite the nostalgia of the older folk for the "good old days," however, they are treated with relative respect, and the grandparent-grandchild relations are often of an affectionate nature.

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